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Message Text

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43
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 NEA-06 IO-04 ISO-00 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00

INRE-00 AEC-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-05 L-01 NSAE-00

OIC-01 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-03 PRS-01 SAJ-01 SAM-01 SP-02

SS-15 TRSE-00 RSC-01 NSC-05 ACDA-05 DODE-00 DRC-01

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O R 191040Z OCT 74
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 8785
ALL CSCE CAPITALS 204
AMEMBASSY CAIRO
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG
AMEMBASSY NICOSIA
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY TUNIS
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCEUR VAIHINGEN GER
USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES ITALY
USLO SACLANT NORFOLK VA
CINCLANT NORFOLK VA
USDEL SALT TWO GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 6444

E.O. 11652: N/A
TAGS: CSCE PFOR PARM EGEN SGEN XG
SUBJECT: CSCE: STAGE II HIGHLIGHTS - OCTOBER 14-18

1. SUMMARY: WESTERN AND NEUTRAL HOPES THAT LAST WEEK'S PROMISING INDICATIONS WOULD LEAD TO EARLY PROGRESS WERE BROUGHT UP SHORT THIS WEEK AS THE SOVIETS MAINTAINED THEIR CONFIDENTIAL

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TOUGH SUBSTANTIVE POSITIONS AND RETURNED TO THEIR NORMAL

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CSCE TACTICS OF TRYING TO MOVE THINGS AHEAD WITHOUT MAKING CONCESSIONS. THE SOVIETS REFUSED TO MAKE ANY CONCESSIONS ON BASKET III OR MILITARY SECURITY, AND EVEN RENEGED ON LAST WEEK'S INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON A PHRASE COVERING THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS. NEVERTHELESS, THE SOVIET DELEGATION CONTINUED ITS ACTIVE ROUND OF INFORMAL CONTACTS, AND SEVERAL EASTERN DELEGATES MADE SOUNDINGS ON THE FEASIBILITY OF FINISHING THE BULK OF CONFERENCE WORK BEFORE CHRISTMAS, AND COMPLETING STAGE II IN TIME FOR A THIRD SUMMIT IN THE SPRING.
ALLIED DELEGATIONS CONCLUDED THAT FURTHER PROGRESS IN BASKET III COULD ONLY COME WHEN THE TIME IS RIGHT FOR THE NEUTRALS TO PROPOSE A PACKAGE DEAL ON HUMAN CONTACTS ISSUES, PERHAPS ABOUT TWO WEEKS HENCE, IN THE LONGER TERM, HOWEVER, MOST WESTERN AND NEUTRAL DELEGATES CONTINUED TO ASSUME THAT THE SOVIETS STILL WANT AN EARLY CONCLUSION TO CSCE, AN ASSUMPTION THAT WILL BE STRENGTHENED BY PRESS REPORTS SUGGESTING THAT STAGE II MAY HAVE TO BE CONCLUDED BEFORE A CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES CAN BE CONVENED. END SUMMARY.

2. PRINCIPLS AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION--SUBCOMMITTEE TEMPORARILY LAID ASIDE UNRESOLVED FORMULATIONS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS PRINCIPLE AND MOVED TO DRAFTING OF EIGHT PRINCIPLE--EQUAL RIGHTS AND SELF-DETERMINATION OF PEOPLES. ALTHOUGH WORK BEGAN ON BASIS OF FRENCH-HUNGARIAN TEXT WHICH HAD PRIOR AGREEMENT OF FRG, SOVIETS AND GDR, DISCUSSIONS QUICKLY BOGGED DOWN IN PROCEDURAL AND DRAFTING WRANGLES. NEVERTHELESS, INFORMAL AGREEMENT WAS REACHED ON TWO INTRODUCTORY SENTENCES, AND THERE WAS SOME ENCOURAGEMENT IN ABSENCE THUS FAR OF SERIOUS POLITICAL CONFRONTATIONS OVER PRINCPLE THAT FRG REGARDS AS MAJOR CONCERN.
FRENCH AGAIN POSTPONED TABLING BONN GROUP LANGUAGE ON QUADRIPARTITE RIGHTS IN ORDER TO GIVE DUTCH AND ITALIANS TIME TO CONSIDER ARGUMENTS MADE ON BEHALF OF THAT TEXT IN EC CAUCUS AND BY USDEL. SPECIAL WORKING BODY ON IMPLEMENTATION PROVISIONALLY REGISTERED A HEAVILY BRACKETED PREAMBULAR PARAGRAPH ON SWISS PRO-POSAL FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES WITHOUT,
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HOWEVER, BREAKING NEW SUBSTANTIVE GROUND.

3. MILITARY SECURITY--SUBCOMMITTEE DEVOTED TWO FORMAL MEETINGS TO A DISCUSSION OF THE CONTEXT OF THE NOTIFICATION OF MAJOR MILITARY MANEUVERS. NO PROGRESS WAS MADE BECAUSE OF CONTINUED SOVIET OBJECTION TO NOTIFICATION OF THE ESTIMATED DATE OF THE BEGINNING AND ENDING OF MOVEMENTS OF THE PARTICIPATING FORCES TO

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AND FROM THE MANEUVER AREA. SOVIETS VIEW SUCH DETAILED
INFORMATION AS AN INTERNAL MATTER HAVING A MILITARY
INTELLIGENCE CHARACTER.

4. ECONOMICS, SCIENCE/TECHNOLOGY--FULL COMMITTEE
MADE NO FURTHER PROGRESS IN WORK ON OVERALL
PREAMBLE FOR THIS BASKET. COMMERCIAL EXCHANGES SUB-
COMMITTEE POSTPONED ITS MEETINGS TO ALLOW TIME
FOR EC-NINE TO PREPARE THEIR POSITIONS ON KEY PARA-
GRAPHS RELATING TO TRADE OBSTACLES, INCLUDING MFN.
SOVIETS IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY SUBCOMMITTEE PRE-
SENTED COMPROMISE PARAGRAPH ON INFORMATION EXCHANGE
CHANNELS WHICH REVIVED THE POSSIBILITY THAT TEXT
CONTAINING A REFERENCE TO DIRECT CONTACTS MIGHT BE
ACCEPTED. SUBCOMMITTEE ON OTHER ECONOMIC AREAS DIS-
CUSSED PARAGRAPHS DEALING WITH IMPORTANCE OF ENCOURAGING
FOREIGN TRAVEL AGENCIES AND OF MAKING FOREIGN CURRENCY
AVAILABLE FOR TRAVEL. DISCUSSION IMPROVED CHANCES THAT
PARAGRAPHS ON THESE AND OTHER TOURISM SUBJECTS WHICH
RELATE TO BASKET III COULD BE REGISTERED SOON.

5. HUMANITARIAN COOPERATION--HUMAN CONTACTS SUB-
COMMITTEE CONTINUED TO DRAFT ON FIVE TOPICS IN PARALLEL.
EFFORT WAS DIRECTED AT POSITIONING ALL PROBLEMS TO
FIT INTO A "PACKAGE DEAL" WHICH THE NEUTRALS ARE EX-
PECTED TO EGINEER WHEN THE TIME IS RIPE, PROBABLY
WITHIN TWO WEEKS. MEANWHILE AGREEMENT ON ANY ONE TOPIC
SEEMS UNLIKELY. INFORMATION SUBCOMMITTEE SUFFERED A
DISAPPOINTMENT WHEN THE SOVIETS RENEGED ON THEIR INFORMAL
AGREEMENT ON A SIMPLE TEXT COMMITING ALL PARTICIPATING
STATES TO PUBLISH AND DISTRIBUTE WIDELY THE "FULL"
TEXT OF THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENT. WHILE DRAFTING CON-
TINUED ON RELATIVELY NON-CONTROVERSIAL TOPICS, IRRITA-
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TION OVER THIS SOVIET ACTION SLOWED PROGRESS.
IN SUBCOMMITTEE ON CULTURE AND EDUCATION, DISCUSSIONS
CONTINUED ON LESS CONTROVERSIAL FEATURES OF WESTERN
PROPOSALS, AND LIMITED PROGRESS WAS ACHEIVED IN
CLARIFYING DIFFERENCES AND REVISING LANGUAGE. MEAN-
WHILE, EC-NINE ARE REVIEWING THEIR TACTICS IN LIGHT
OF CONTINUING SOVIET UNWILLINGNESS TO INCLUDE ANY
REFERENCE, AT LEAST AT THIS STAGE, TO ESTABLISHMENT OF
LIBRARIES/READING ROOMS, EVEN IN BRACKETS, IN KEY TEXT
ON ACCESS TO CULTURAL ACHIEVEMENTS.

6. FOLLOW-UP--WORKING GROUP ON FOLLOW-UP DRAFTED
A FIRST BRIEF PARAGRAPH FOR THE PREAMBLE TO A CONFERENCE
RESOLUTION ON GENERAL POLITICAL FOLLOW-UP. WHILE THE
TEXT ITSELF HAD NO SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE, IT DEMONSTRA-

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TED THE GENERAL WILLINGNESS WHICH NOW EXISTS TO PROCEED SLOWLY WITH DRAFTING ON THIS SUBJECT.

7. COMMENT: THE CONFERENCE MOVED BACK TO A SITUATION OF OVERALL STALEMATE THIS WEEK, AS THE SOVIETS RURSUED THEIR NORMAL CSCE TACTICS OF TRYING TO MOVE THINGS AHEAD WITHOUT MAKING ANY CONCESSIONS. THEIR INFORMAL ACTIVITY WAS OVERSHADOWED BY THE COMPLETE ABSENCE OF FURTHER FLEXIBILITY ON BASKET III OR MILITARY SUBJECTS, AND BY WITHDRAWAL OF THEIR INFORMAL AGREEMENT ON DISTRIBUTION OF THE FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS, WHICH DISAPPOINTED WESTERN DELEGATIONS. IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE SOVIETS WOULD ALLOW NO PROGRESS ON HUMAN CONTACTS AGREEMENTS UNTIL THEY OBTAIN ACCEPTABLE WORDING ON "MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE CONDITIONS." THE ELEMENTS WERE THUS IN PLACE FOR A PACKAGE DEAL ON THIS SUBJECT, AND DISCUSSION CENTERED ON WHEN THE TIME WOULD BE RIGHT FOR SUCH A DEAL, WHICH WOULD HAVE TO BE PROPOSED BY THE NEUTRALS. WITH NEITHER EAST NOR WEST ANXIOUS TO BE DEMANDEUR FOR A DEAL, IT SEEMED UNLIKELY THAT THE NEUTRALS WOULD PUT ONE FORWARD IMMEDIATELY, AND ANOTHER ONE OR TWO WEEKS MAY BE REQUIRED FOR THIS SITUATION TO RIPEN.

8. MEANWHILE, THE SOVIETS AND THEIR ALLIES WERE MAKING SOUNDINGS ABOUT THE POSSIBLE TIMING FOR THE CONSLUSION
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OF STAGE II AND THE CONVENING OF A STAGE III SUMMIT, BLITHELY SUGGESTING THAT THE BULK OF CONFERENCE WORK COULD BE FINISHED BY CHRISTMAS, STAGE II COMPLETED AROUND THE END OF FEBURARY, AND A STAGE III SUMMIT HELD IN THE SPRING. ALTHOUGH THE SOVIETS ARE CLEARLY TRYING TO AVOID HAVING TO PAY FOR SPEEDY CONFERENCE PROGRESS WITH SUBSTANTIVE CONCESSIONS, THESE APPROACHES SERVED AS REMINDERS OF THE BROADER SOVIET INTEREST IN AN EARLY CONCLUSION TO CSCE. THIS INTEREST WAS UNDERLINED ONCE AGAIN DURING THE WEEK BY PODGORNY'S STATEMENT IN HELSINKI THAT THE THIRD SUMMIT SHOULD BE HELD "AT AN EARLY DATE", AND AT WEEK'S END IT WAS GIVEN A MORE CONCRETE RATIONALE, AS PRESS REPORTS (E.G. LE MONDE, OCTOBER 18) EMANATING FROM THE PREPARATORY MEETINGS IN WARSAW SUGGESTED THAT IT MAY NOT BE POSSIBLE TO CONVENE A CONFERENCE OF EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTIES UNTIL AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF CSCE STAGE II. END COMMENT. DALE

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